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LUCIFER.

THE LIGHT-BEARER.

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INDIVIDUALITY.

Should one man, ten men, fifty thousand laugh
Because thy thoughts breed folly in their minds,
Fear not. Think on. Such laughter is but chaff,
Mere dross of reason wasted by the winds.

Should one man, ten men, fifty thousand cry
"Thy words are false. Forbear thou to condemn!"
Fear not. Say on. Time's self shall justify:
Thy words shall live, and give the lie to them.

Should one man, ten men, fifty thousand curse
These acts of thine that counter to their will,
Fear not. Act on. Have courage! Which is worse,
To die for truth—or live—to die for nil?

—*W. L. Bultitaft.*

"Thou Shalt Not Kill."

BY COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.

"*Thou shalt do no murder.*"—Ex. xx. 13.

"*All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them.*"—Matt. vii. 12.

When Kings are tried and executed like Charles I., Louis XVI., Maximilian of Mexico, or killed in a palace conspiracy like Peter III., Paul and all kinds of Sultans, Shahs, and Khans, the event is generally passed over in silence. But when one of them is killed without a trial, and not by a palace conspiracy, like Henry IV., Alexander II., Carnot, the Empress of Austria, the Shah of Persia, and just now King Humbert, then such a murder causes great surprise and indignation among Kings and Emperors, and those attached to them, as if these persons were the great enemies of murder, as if they never profited by murder, never took part in it, and never gave orders to commit it. And yet the kindest of these murdered Kings, such as Alexander II., or Humbert, were guilty of the murder of tens of thousands of persons killed on the battlefield, not to mention those executed at home; while hundreds of thousands, even millions of people have been killed, hanged, beaten to death or shot, by the more cruel Kings or Emperors.

Christ's teachings cancels the law "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth"; but those men who have kept to that law and still keep to it, act upon it by punishing and carry on wars; and not only "an eye for an eye," but give orders to kill thousands without any provocation by declaring war; they have no right to be indignant when the same law is applied to themselves in so infinitesimal a measure that hardly one King or Emperor gets killed to a hundred thousand, perhaps a million ordinary people killed by the order or with the consent of Kings and Emperors.

Kings and Emperors are surprised and horrified when one of themselves is murdered, and yet the whole of their activity consists in managing murder and preparing for murder. The keeping up, the teaching and exercising of armies with which Kings and Emperors are always so much occupied, and of which they are the organizers, what is it but preparation for murder?

The masses are so hypnotized that, though they see what is continually going on around them, they do not understand what it means. They see the unceasing care Kings, Emperors, Presidents bestow on disciplined armies, see the parades, reviews and manoeuvers they hold, and of which they boast to one another, and the people eagerly crowd to see how their own brothers, dressed up in bright-colored, glittering clothes, are turned into machines to sound of drums and trumpets, and who, obedient to the shouting of one man, all make the same movements; and they do not understand the meaning of it all.

Yet the meaning of such drilling is very clear and simple. It is preparing for murder. It means the stupefying of men in order to convert them into instruments for murdering.

And it is just Kings and Emperors and Presidents who do it, and organize it, and pride themselves on it. And it is the same people, whose especial employment is murder-organizing, who have made murder their profession, who dress in military uniforms, carry weapons, (swords at their side), who are horror-struck and indignant when one of themselves is killed.

It is not because such murders as the recent murder of Humbert are exceptionally cruel that they are so terrible. Things done by the order of Kings and Emperors, not only in the days of old, such as the massacre of St. Bartholomew, persecutions for faith, terrible ways of putting down peasant riots, but also the present executions, the torture of solitary confinements and disciplinary battalions, hanging, decapitation, shooting and slaughter at the wars, are incomparably more cruel than the murders committed by Anarchists.

It is not on account of their injustice that these murders are terrible. If Alexander and Humbert did not deserve death the thousands of Russians who perished at Plevna, and of Italians who perished in Abyssinia, deserved it even less. No it is not because of their cruelty and injustice these murders are terrible, but because of the want of reason in those who perpetrate them.

If the regicides commit murder under the influence of their feeling of indignation evoked by witnessing the sufferings of the enslaved people, for which sufferings they hold Alexander II., Carnot, or Humbert responsible, or by the personal feeling of desire for revenge, however immoral such person's conduct may be, still it is comprehensible; but how can an organized body of Anarchists by whom, it is now reported, Bresci was sent out, and by whom another Emperor was threatened, how can it, quietly considering means of improvement of the conditions of the people, find nothing better to do than to murder people, the killing of whom is as useful as cutting off one of the Hydra's heads?

Kings and Emperors have long established a system resembling the arrangement of the magazine rifle, i. e., as soon as one bullet flies out another takes its place. "Le roi est mort—vive le roi!" Then what is the use of killing them? It is only from a most superficial point of view that the murder of such persons can seem a means of saving the people from oppressions and wars, which destroy their lives.

RECEIVED

We need only remember that the same kind of oppression and war went on quite independent of those who stood at the head of the Government, whether it was Nicholas or Alexander, Louis or Napoleon, Frederick or William, Palmerstone or Gladstone, McKinley or anyone else, to see that it is not some definite person who causes the oppression and the wars from which the people suffer.

The misery of the people is not caused by individuals, but by an order of society by which they are bound together in a way that puts them in the power of a few, or more often one man: a man so depraved by his unnatural position of having the fate and lives of millions of people in his power that he is always in an unhealthy state, and suffering more or less from a mania of self-aggrandisement, which is not noticed in him only because of his exceptional position.

Apart from the fact that such men are surrounded from the cradle to the grave by the most insane luxury and its usual accompaniment of flattery and servility, the whole of their education, all of their occupations, are centered on the one object of murder, the study of murder in the past, the best means of murdering in the present, the best ways of preparing for murder. From their earliest years they learn the art of murder in all possible forms, always carry about with them instruments of murder, dress in different uniforms, attend parades, manoeuvers, and reviews, visit each other, present orders and commands of regiments to each other. And yet not only does nobody tell them the real name of their actions, not only does nobody tell them that preparing for murder is revolting and criminal, but they hear nothing except praise and words of admiration from all around them for their actions.

The part of the press which alone reaches them, and which seems to them to be the expression of the feelings of the best of the people or their best representatives, exalts all their words and deeds, however silly and wicked they may be, in the most servile manner. All who surround them, men and women, whether cleric or laymen, all these people who do not value human dignity, vie with each other in flattering them in the most refined manner, agree with them in everything, and deceive them continually, making it impossible for them to know life as it is. These men might live to be a hundred and never live to see a real, free man, and never hear the truth.

We are sometimes appalled by the words and deeds of these men, but if we only consider their state we cannot but see that any man would act in the same way in such a position. A reasonable man can do but one thing in such a position, i. e., leave it. Everyone who remains in such a position will act in the same manner.

What must indeed be going on in the head of some William of Germany, a man of limited understanding, little education, and with a great deal of ambition, whose ideals are like those of a German "yunker," when any silly or horrid thing he may say is always met with an enthusiastic "Hoch!" and commented on as if it were something very important by the Press of the whole world? He says that the soldiers should be prepared to kill their own fathers in obedience to his command. The answer is, "Hurrah!" He says the Gospels must be introduced with a fist of iron. "Hurrah!" He says that the army must not take any prisoners in China, but kill all, and he is not placed in a lunatic asylum, but they cry, "Hurrah!" and set sail for China to execute his orders.

Or Nicholas, who, though naturally modest, begins his reign by declaring to venerable old men, in answer to the desire they express of being allowed to discuss their own affairs, that their hope for self government is a senseless dream, and the organs of the Press that reach him, and the people whom he meets, praise him for it. He proposes a childish, silly and untruthful project of universal peace at the same time that he is ordering an increase of the army, and even then there are no limits to the laudations of his wisdom and his virtue. Without any reason, he senselessly and pitilessly offends the whole French nation, and again hears nothing but praise. At last he starts the Chinese slaughter, terrible in its injustice, cruelty, and its contrast with his project of peace; and he gets simultaneously applauded from all sides, both for his own conquests and for his adherence to his father's policy of peace. What must indeed be going on in the heads and hearts of such men?

So that it is not Alexanders and Humberts, Williams, Nicholases and Chamberlains who are the cause of oppression and war, even though they do organize them, but those who have placed them and support them in a position in which they have power over the life and death of men.

Therefore it is not necessary to kill Alexanders and Nicholases, Williams and Humberts, but only to leave off supporting the social condition of which they are the product. It is the selfishness and stupefied state of the people who sell their freedom and their honor for insignificant material advantages which supports the present state of society.

Those who stand on the lowest rung of the ladder, partly as a consequence of being stupefied by a patriotic and falsely religious education, partly for the sake of personal advantages, give up their freedom and their feeling of human dignity to those who stand higher, and who offer them material advantages. In a like position are those standing a little higher. They, too, through being stupefied, and especially for material advantages, give up their freedom and sense of human dignity. The same is true of those standing still higher; and so it continues up to the highest rungs, up to the person or persons who, standing on the very summit of the social cone, have no one to submit to, nor anywhere to rise to, and have no motive for action except ambition and love of power. These are generally so depraved and stupefied by their insane power over life and death, and by the flattery and servility of those around them which is connected with such power that while doing evil they feel convinced they are the benefactors of the human race. It is the people themselves who, by sacrificing their human dignity for material profits, produce these men, and are afterwards angry with them for their stupid and cruel acts; murdering such people is like spoiling children and then whipping them.

Very little seems needed to stop oppression and useless war, and to prevent anyone from being indignant with those who seem to be the cause of such oppression and war.

Only that things should be called by their right names and seen as they are; that it should be understood that an army is an instrument of murder, that the recruiting and drilling of armies which Kings, Emperors and Presidents carry on with so much self-assurance are preparations for murder.

If only every King, Emperor and President would understand that his work of organizing armies is not an honorable and important duty, as his flatterers persuade him it is, but a most abominable business, i. e., the preparing for and managing of murder; if only every private individual understood that the payment of taxes which helps to equip soldiers, and above all, military service, are not immaterial, but highly immoral actions, by which he not only permits murder, but takes part in it himself—then this power of the Kings and Emperors which arouses an indignation, and for which they now get killed, would of itself come to an end.

And so the Alexanders, Carnots, Humberts and others must not be killed, but it ought to be proved to them that they are murderers; and, above all, they should not be allowed to kill men; their orders to murder should not be obeyed.

If men do not yet act in this manner, it is only because of the hypnotic influence Governments for self-preservation so diligently exercise on them. Therefore we can contribute towards stopping people killing kings and each other, not by murder (murders only strengthen this hypnotic state), but by awakening from it.

And it is this that I have tried to do in these remarks.

One Qualification for It.

"Shure, Mrs. McGoogin, an' is it thrue that yer mon's got a position on the p'lace foorce?"

"Yis, indade, Mrs. O'Hoolihan. An' phwy not? He was afther gittin' too fat t' worruk."—*Philadelphia Bulletin.*

DIVISION OF ACCESSIONS
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In Our Book Department.

One of the latest and most important of the new books is "Fields, Factories, and Workshops; or Industry Combined with Agriculture and Brain Work with Manual Work," by Kropotkin. The author presents an exhaustive array of facts. The scope of the work is outlined in the chapter headings, as follows:

Chapter I. The Decentralization of Industries. Division of labor and integration—The spread of industrial skill—Each nation its own producer of manufactured goods—The United Kingdom—France—Germany—Russia—"German Competition."

Chapter II. The Decentralization of Industries (*continued*). Italy and Spain—India—Japan—The United States—The cotton, woollen and silk trades—the growing necessity for each country to rely upon home-consumers.

Chapter III. The possibilities of agriculture. The development of agriculture—Can the soil of Great Britain feed its inhabitants?—British agriculture—Compared with agriculture in France; in Belgium—Market gardening: its achievements—Is it profitable to grow wheat in Great Britain?—American agriculture; intensive culture in the states.

Chapter IV. The possibilities of agriculture (*continued*). The doctrine of Malthus—Progress in wheat growing—East Flanders—Jersey—Potato crops, past and present—Immigration—Major Hallett's experiments—Planted wheat.

Chapter V. The Possibilities of Agriculture (*continued*). Extension of market gardening and fruit growing: in France; in the United States—Culture under glass—Kitchen gardens under glass—Hot-house culture: in Guernsey; in Belgium.

Chapter VI. Small industries and Industrial Villages. Industry and agriculture—The small industries—Different types—Petty trades in Great Britain: Sheffield, Leeds, Lake District, Birmingham—Petty trades in France: weaving and various others—The Lyons region—Paris, emporium of petty trades.

Chapter VII. Small Industries and Industrial Villages (*continued*). Petty trades in Germany: discussion upon the subject and conclusion arrived at—Petty trades in Russia.

Chapter VIII. Brain Work and Manual Work. Divorce between science and handicraft—Technical education—Complete education—The Moscow system; applied at Chicago, Boston, Aberdeen—Concrete teaching—Present waste of time—Science and technics—Advantages which science can derive from a combination of brain work with manual work.

Among other matter of interest the Appendix contains: French Imports; Growth of Industry in Russia; Iron Industry in Germany; Machinery in Germany; Cotton Industry in Germany; Mining and Textiles in Austria; Cotton Factories in India; Irrigated Meadows in Italy; Imports of Vegetables to the United Kingdom; and Market Gardening in Belgium.

The book is illustrated, and contains 270 pages. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., London, publishers. For sale at this office. Price 40 cents; postage 6 cents.

* * *

"Marriage in Free Society," by Edward Carpenter, is a daintily bound, handsomely printed booklet treating of the relations of the sexes as they exist today and as they will (it is to be hoped) exist in a more civilized future. It is difficult to make a selection—the entire work is so good—but we will give the closing paragraphs:

If it be objected that such private contracts, or such facilitations of Divorce, as here spoken of, would simply lead to frivolous experimental relationships entered into and broken-off *ad infinitum*, it must be remembered that the responsibility for due rearing and maintenance of children must give serious pause to such a career; and that to suppose that any great mass of the people would find their good in a kind of matrimonial game of General Post is to suppose that the mass of the people have really never acquired or been taught the rudiments of commsn sense in such matters—is to suppose a case for which there would hardly be a parallel in the customs of any nation or tribe that we know of.

In conclusion, it is evident that no very great change for the better in marriage-relations can take place except as the accompaniment of deep-lying changes in Society at large; and that alterations in the Law alone will effect but a limited improvement. Indeed it is not very likely, as long as the present commercial order of society lasts, that the existing Marriage-laws—founded as they are on the idea of property—*will* be very radically altered, though they may be to some extent. More likely is it that, underneath the law, the common practice will slide forward into newer customs. With the rise of the new society, which is already outlining itself within the structure of the old, many of the difficulties and bugbears, that at present seem to stand in the way of a more healthy relation between the sexes, will of themselves disappear.

It must be acknowledged, however, that though a gradual broadening out and humanizing of Law and Custom are quite necessary it cannot fairly be charged against these ancient tyrants that they are responsible for all the troubles connected with sex. There are millions of people today who never could marry happily—however favorable the conditions might be—simply because their natures do not contain in sufficient strength the elements of loving surrender to another; and, as long as the human heart is what it is, there will be natural tragedies arising from the willingness or unwillingness of one person to release another when the former finds that his or her love is not returned. While it is quite necessary that these natural tragedies should not be complicated and multiplied by needless legal interference—complicated into the numberless artificial tragedies which are so exasperating when represented on the stage or in romance, and so saddening when witnessed in real life—still we may acknowledge that, short of the millennium, they will always be with us, and that no institution of marriage alone, or absence of institution, will rid us of them. That entire and unswerving refusal to 'cage' another person, or to accept an affection not perfectly free and spontaneous, which will, we are fain to think, be always more and more the mark of human love, must inevitably bring its own price of mortal suffering with it; yet the Love so gained, whether in the individual or in society, will be found in the end to be worth the pang—and as far beyond the other love, as is the wild Bird of Paradise that comes to feed out of our hands unbidden more lovely than the prisoner we shut with draggled wings behind the bars. Love is doubtless the last and most difficult lesson that humanity has to learn; in a sense it underlies all the others.

Sent from this office on receipt of 25 cents.

* * *

We have recently received from England a supply of Socialistic and Communist-Anarchist pamphlets, which we expect to keep in stock. The titles are:

Monopoly, or How Labor Is Robbed. By William Morris. Illustrated. Price 5 cents.

Useful Work versus Useless Toil. By William Morris. Price 5 cents.

Anarchist Morality. By Peter Kropotkin. Sixth edition Price 5 cents.

The Commune of Paris. By Peter Kropotkin. Price 5 cents.

The Socialist League. A short account of the Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. Price 10 cents.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. Contains: The Day Is Coming; The Voice of Toil; The Message of the March Wind; No Master; All for the Cause; The March of the Workers; and Down Among the Dead Men. Price 5 cents.

The State: Its Historic Role. By Peter Kropotkin. Price 10 cents.

Evolution and Revolution. By Elisee Reclus. Price 5 cents.

God and the State. By Michael Bakounine. With a preface by Carlo Cafiero and Elisee Reclus. Price 25 cents.

The Man Who Pays the Tax.

When the cannon's thunder ceases
And the foe is overcome,
And no more the army marches
To the beating of the drum,
Oh, the Bond will not have perished
In the fury of the strife,
But the Bond will have been funded
And will have eternal life.

Soon the foe will yell for quarter
And the butchery will cease,
And the silence of the mortar
Will proclaim the reign of peace,
And our armies will have conquered
All the oriental blacks;
But the Bond will cry, "No quarter"
To the man that pays the tax

Oh, the fools that rivet shackles
On the men of other lands!
They are only blindly binding
Their own children's children's hands.
Who will fall beneath the burdens
Of the army on their backs,
For the Bond will give no quarter
To the man that pays the tax. —Selected.

Lucifer, the Lightbearer

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Socialism and Anarchism.

In last week's Lucifer the leading article treated of definitions and comparisons of and between the two opposing systems or cults scientifically named Archism and Anarchism, or Archy and Anarchy.

In this article it is purposed to treat of "Socialism" in its relation to the two cults just named, the moving cause to such consideration being, in part at least, the statement in a leading Chicago daily that the Socialists of Chicago have decided to make the fight against Anarchy their fight. Under the head "Coming Into the Open" an editorial in the "Chicago Chronicle" of Nov. 7, says:

> The essential connection between Anarchy and Socialism as now advocated is frankly acknowledged by the Socialists organized in this city.
>
> At a meeting held Sunday the Chicago Socialists decided "to make the fight against Anarchy their fight."
>
> True, ideal, Socialism is the exact opposite of Anarchy.
>
> The gospel of Anarchy is single. It is abolition of government—freedom for every human being to do as he pleases without regard to the rights of any other human being. Necessarily this single gospel means that the physically strong shall do what they please with the physically weaker. At the start, therefore, it reduces woman to the place she is held in among savage men. Free love is one of the avowed tenets of Anarchy. At that point, however false, Socialism, as now preached, is at one with Anarchy.
>
> The Chicago Socialists are resolved that no laws shall be passed detrimental to the advocacy of another form of government "or of no government."
>
> The ballot box is the place to propose change in the government. But your Anarchist does not believe in a ballot box. If he could lay aside his gospel for a day and submit to the ballot box the question "Shall all government be abolished?" he would discover that the number of idiots, fools, fanatics and maniacs in the United States is surprisingly small.
>
> The Socialists of Chicago have cleared the air by coming out into the open and declaring the cause of Anarchy their cause.

It will doubtless be noticed that Lucifer quotes frequently from the Chicago "Chronicle." The main reason for this is the fact that the "Chronicle" is the oldest of the great Chicago dailies, published in English, that calls itself "Democratic;" also because during the late "Anarchist" scare it was the only leading party organ of this city that took ground against the proposed enactment of laws intended to "stamp out" Anarchistic literature and to banish or deport all who claimed to be Anarchists.

Is it because the "Chronicle" lost prestige with its plutocratic masters by its advocacy of fairness and justice for the persecuted Anarchists, that it now "out-Herods Herod" in its misrepresentation and abuse of Anarchy and Anarchists?

In our quotations from this democratic authority we have been careful to avoid the imputation of unfairness by giving partial or garbled statements from its columns. We have given its editorial broadsides in their entirety. If the "Chronicle" had treated others in like manner, if it had been willing that its readers should see what the doctrines of Anarchism really are, would it not have quoted the exact language of some recognized teacher of that cult, or at least have referred its readers to the books or papers published by such recognized teacher?

Evidently the Archistic organs are unwilling that their readers should read and judge for themselves. As in all the past the Archistic tyrants and robbers of the masses of the people know that their power and privileges depend upon the ignorance and prejudices of their victims. To tell the truth is fatal to the game of tyrants, whether of state or church.

Having shown in last Lucifer what the word anarchy means, and what its scientific or philosophic defenders teach we shall omit a repetition of that statement here; the main purpose of this article being to show what Socialism—scientific Socialism, is, and wherein its objects are identical with those of Anarchism.

* * *

Quoting from the New American Cyclopedia, edited by Charles A. Dana and George Ripley, "Socialism is the name given to the philosophy or doctrine which teaches that the social relations of mankind are susceptible of a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement than that which obtains in existing society."

The word socialism is derived from the Latin SOCIUS "a companion," and this again is said to be derived from the word SEQUOR "to follow," or "to seek." Hence, by etymology those who are seeking the better way, the more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of human relations, may be rightly called Socialists.

But in the larger or more general sense, all are Socialists who do not wish to live alone. Even the veriest hermit owes his existence to Socialism, for without the association of two persons no hermit could come into life on the human or mortal plane. Take, for instance, the individual known as Archbishop Corrigan whose utterances against Socialism have been much commended by the editor of the "Chronicle." This man is himself a Socialist of a very pronounced type. What could he do, and what would he be, without the Socialistic help he receives from thousands of his parishioners, also from thousands of Protestants and from those who are members of no church at all?

In the "Chronicle" of Nov. 12, this man is quoted, approvingly quoted by the editor in an article entitled "Socialism and Labor," as saying:

> "In endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community the Socialists strike at the interests of every wage-earner. They deprive him of the liberty of the disposal of his wages, and thus of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and of bettering his condition of life."

When Archbishop Corrigan voluntarily pays his taxes, his equal share of the government taxes on his cathedral, his parsonage, his nunneries, his other school buildings etc., his criticisms of Socialists will perhaps be listened to with more respect.

But when and where does he get his authority for saying that Socialists would deprive the laborer of "the liberty of the disposal of his wages"? That this is what the Arch-

bishop and the other Archists of church and state are now doing, forcibly depriving the laborer of his wages, can easily be shown, but since there are said to be "just fifty-seven kinds of Socialists" it would be well always, in his "sermons to the laboring classes," that this distinguished beneficiary of church-state Socialism should tell what kind of Socialists he is talking about; and be well to be very sure also that he quotes correctly their own words before holding up Socialistic doctrines for public reprobation.

IDEAL SOCIALISM.

"Ideal Socialism is the exact opposite of Anarchy." This statement is no doubt true—from the standpoint of the "Chronicle" and of Archbishop Corrigan and of the other Archists to whose interests the "Chronicle" seems devoted. It has been truly said that every man creates the god he worships. The god of the ancient Hebrews was, like his creators—vain, jealous, cruel, revengeful, bloodthirsty, deceitful, grasping, unscrupulous. The god of John Calvin, of Jonathan Edwards, of the popes of Rome, and of most professed Christians, is simply the ideal, the personification of the characteristics of their creators—meddlesome, invasive, self-seeking, cruel, revengeful, hence we find Christian missionaries the loudest and most insistent in their demands that vengeance be inflicted on the Chinese, the Turks and others who have resisted the attempts of said missionaries to supplant and overthrow their own cherished religious ideals.

* * *

Just so with ideals of Socialism. The state of society that would fill the ideal of the falsely called Democrat and the PSEUDO-Republican of the present day, is a society in which the few rule and rob the many according to law—as they do now; the only change they desire being such modification of our present laws as would make perpetual the privileges now enjoyed by the rich, such as exemption of the property of all corporations of capitalists from taxation, after the example set by church corporations; also a permanent increase of the regular army added to such changes generally as would give our present rulers all the perquisites and privileges enjoyed by European monarchs and titled aristocrats—as was lately suggested by ex-President Cleveland when he said, if only monarchy can protect us against Anarchy, then the "American people are prepared for the departure," or words to that effect.

* * *

But while the majority of clergymen seem to agree in denouncing the ideal of Socialism that would make common cause with Anarchism there are a few notable exceptions, as when Heber Newton, of the Protestant Episcopal church, New York, is reported in a recent sermon from his pulpit:

"Anarchism is in reality the ideal of political and social science, and also the ideal of religion. It is the ideal to which Jesus Christ looked forward. Christ founded no church, established no state, gave practically no laws, organized no government and set up no external authority, but he did seek to write on the hearts of men God's law, and make them self-legislating."

THE BALLOT BOX.

"The ballot box is the place to propose change in the government."

It is a wise maxim which says, "Never bet your money against a gambler's own tricks." The ballot box is simply a game in which the owners of the machine—the monarchists, hierarchists etc., hold all the winning numbers, cards, chips, or what not.

These Archists say, in effect, to the self-rulers—the Anarchists and Socialists, "Heads I win; Tails you lose!"

This is so plain that he who runs may read; as when the "Chronicle" man himself says, "The Chicago Socialists are resolved that no laws shall be passed detrimental to the advocacy of another form of government or of 'no government.'"

The very evident meaning of this is that freedom of speech should not be permitted to the extent of advocating another form of government, or the abolition of the present form of government.

Thomas Jefferson, the reputed founder of the Democratic party in the United States, in the Declaration of Independence claimed it as the fundamental or inalienable right of every people to change their form of government, or to abolish it entirely. Evidently such doctrine is no longer tolerated by the professed followers of Jefferson.

* * *

With the ballot box in the hands of those who make it a crime to advocate or vote for a change in the form of government, why should Anarchists and Socialists go to the polls and vote? To do so is more foolish even than to bet one's money against a faro bank, where the winning numbers are always held by the bankers.

Besides the certainty of losing his vote when voting against the Archists' own game the voter stultifies himself by tacitly agreeing to submit to the verdict of the game, and thus becomes a party to his own enslavement.

* * *

Anarchists and Socialists do not wish to abolish government, as a general proposition. They are very willing that Democrats and Republicans shall have all the government and all the rulers they want, provided they do not impose their government upon those who prefer to be their own rulers, just as agnostics and freethinkers are willing that Archbishop Corrigan shall have his present princely revenues so long as he does not compel non-Catholics to contribute their money for the maintenance of those revenues by means of our partialistic, paternalistic and invasive taxation laws.

This ruling bishop himself uses Anarchistic arguments against our State-Socialistic government when protesting against laws which compel Catholics to pay taxes for the support of public schools.

* * *

So long as the ballot box is owned by and controlled by Archists no self-respecting Anarchist or Socialist whose motto is equal rights for all can be blamed for shunning "the polls" on election days as he would shun a faro bank or moral pest house.

M. HARMAN.

AT HOME. Till further notice the address of the editor will be 500 Fulton St., Chicago.

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THE FOURTEENTH ANNIVERSARY of the legal murder of the five "Chicago Anarchists" was observed as usual in Chicago on Nov. 11. The "Record-Herald" estimated the attendance at 1200; but the newspapers usually underestimate the size of such meetings. Voltairine de Cleyre made the principal address.

Emma Goldman Defines Her Position.

In Lucifer No. 889 was printed a report that at a meeting of the Manhattan Liberal Club I deplored the assassination of McKinley. This is a misrepresentation, for at that particular meeting there was no particular occasion to either deplore or applaud the assassination, consequently I made no such statements. Besides, in my article on the Buffalo tragedy in Free Society of Oct. 6 I plainly and emphatically stated my position, and instead of retracting I could only add that I have since come to the firm conclusion that Czolgosz was a man with the beautiful soul of a child and the energy of a giant. I have observed with great sorrow that the majority of Anarchists have utterly failed to comprehend the depth of that soul, that was put to death by organized authority on Oct. 29.

Methinks that Anarchy is the philosophy of life, and as such it includes every branch of human knowledge pertaining to life. If this be so, and I know of no Anarchists who would deny it, Anarchists ought to be students of psychology and honestly endeavor to explain certain phenomena, not only from a politico-economic but also from a psychological standpoint. Had they done so, they would not have joined the thoughtless rabble in its superficial denunciation of Leon Czolgosz as a lunatic and a villain. Do not we know that every act which ignorant minds have failed to explain, have ever been stamped as insane or villainous?

Surely it does not behoove thinking people to adopt such methods in their search for a cause for certain acts. Besides, is it not time to perceive that the act of Sept. 6, like many previous acts, was but the result of the elements pent up and stifled in the human heart through a false and pernicious system and bound to leap through the heavy walls of organized authority sooner or later?

Of course I believe that each individual has a right to his opinion, but I do not wish to be a party in the vain endeavor of some of our Anarchists to bow before respectability by sacrificing their ideas to its altar.

It has taken all my time for the past fourteen years to deplore human misery in all its awful forms, so I have not a moment left to deplore the assassination of one, who has ignored all rights of the people, and bowed before the dictum of a privileged few; then, too, I am kept busy regretting the fact that so many even in the radical ranks have lost their manhood and womanhood at the sight of Government and Power let loose, and have denounced the man, who was so pitiful in his loneliness and yet so sublime in his silence and superiority over his enemies.

New York, Nov. 11. EMMA GOLDMAN.

VARIOUS VOICES.

F. H. Bergman, Chicago:—Find enclosed $2 for subscription and books. Your Lucifer is a brave little paper and deserves the support of all liberty-loving women and men.

W. E. T., Little Rock, Ark.:—Plese send me three copies "Vice: Its Friends and Its Foes" for the enclosed 50 cents. Judging from synopsis of contents it will be good reading for a whole lot of people.

A. L. V., Hannibal, Mo.:—I send names of a few friends to whom please send copies of Lucifer. I admire the outspoken sentiments of Lillian and the editor in regard to Anarchism, and am certain they should convince any thinking person.

S. B. Benedictsson, Selkirk, Manitoba:—I am working in an unfertile field, and the name Lucifer is dreaded by most people; but I have succeeded in getting a subscriber for Lucifer and enclose a dollar for same. Please send "Nora," as premium.

W. G. Markland, Highland Park, Tenn.:—Please place the enclosed $1 to Leon's credit on subscription. Lucifer is highly appreciated in our circle; but the consensus is "Socialism first." This makes it difficult to get subscribers. Can't be helped just now.

Mrs. Katherine Buck, Elkton, S. Dakota:—Enclosed find 50 cents for pamphlets. Lucifer and Helen Wilmans' "Freedom" are the delight of my life. I am sure you are teaching the truth and are very brave to do so; but what a pity so few people will receive it.

T. F. Burns, Mt. Pleasant St. Plymouth, Mass.:—Enclosed find $2 to continue my subscription and pay for enclosed list of books. "Man is the noblest work of creation, the masterpiece of God," says man. "The female is the superior," says Aunt Elmina. Wonder what the monkey thinks about it?

James Thierry, Otter Lake, Mich.:—Why do not the apostles of Philosophical Anarchism, Mr. Benj. R. Tucker and Mr. V. Yarros, come forward and explain to the befuddled masses the nature of a much abused philosophy, that must be voluntarily realized for the benefit of all terrestrial organisms, without exceptions?

Laura H. Earle, Germantown, Pa.:—We have positively exulted in Lucifer's recent editorials on the state of the public mind just now; and on Archism vs. Anarchism. We are in thorough sympathy too, with Mr. Harman, in his appreciation of "The Public" of Chicago, which we have found invaluable for several years past.

Arthur C. Everett, Gen. Del., Santa Barbara, Cal.:—Please credit enclosed on my subscription, and insert my "Wanted" ad. again. I have better returns from my ad. in your paper and the "Freethought Ideal" than from all the other papers combined in which it has appeared. Lucifer is like California wine—grows better with age. I like Lucifer's attitude in defense of free speech.

Geo. W. Faulkrod, Suffolk, Va..—I enclose $1 to apply on my subscription to Lucifer. I think its editors stands at the head of the class, even though H. L. Green would like to banish them to his island in the Pacific. I was sorry to see that article in the "Freethought Magazine." I always thought Mr. Green a true advocate of free speech and free press; but my faith in him in that respect has been shaken. He would not only send Lucifer and all Anarchists in this country to his island, but if Paine and Jefferson were here they would have to go too.

Aurin F. Hill, 13 Elizabeth St., Boston, Mass.:—You are an old man and should take a reasonable view of things. One person holds more land than one person can cultivate. This is selfish on the part of the holder thereof. Lucifer has a dearth of ideas because one mind is overworked. Several persons pay the expenses of Lucifer and a few hold all the space on its pages. It seems to me that a wiser system and more justice would prevail if one page of Lucifer were used for short letters from the people who are for or against the objects for which Lucifer is established.

Chas. L. Govan, Home Wash.:—We have sold more literature since the excitement over McKinley's death than all together that we have sold since we commenced to carry pamphlets and books, and to people we had never heard of before. I sold pamphlets today to the German Lutheran preacher who has taken it on himself to try and convert us. He was our friend when the Tacoma papers were trying to incite a mob to come out here. He told them if they did succeed in doing so he would lead a company against them. He is well-meaning and has a keen sense of justice. He preached tonight in our school house.

Our trip to Spokane was not an unenjoyable one, though we went as prisoners. We were treated by all with the greatest consideration. The deputy took us into a sleeping car and we had a good nights's rest. The deputy said to me: "Govan, you ought to pay me for bringing you to Spokane, for you have gotten your ideas before more, and a different class of people in these three days than you would with 'Discontent' in ten years. You have done good propaganda." The Spokane people

treated us as fairly as possible. Larkin and I visited the Seventh Day Adventist mission and discussed Anarchy in their reading room, with the person in charge, who was a very manly fellow. Larkin is a good reasoner and he put in some good licks, which his hearers will not soon forget. All in the room dropped their papers and listened. If those fellows in Tacoma who thought they could scare us, could only see our nice new print shop which we commenced the day of our arrest and have just completed, they would think we don't scare as easily as they think. Money for the defense is coming in slowly. We ought to be able to carry the case to the highest courts if necessar y but it takes money which we radicals have not.

Lucifer—Its Meaning and Purpose.

LUCIFER—The planet Venus; so called from its brightness.—*Webster's Dictionary.*

LUCIFEROUS—Giving Light; affording light or the means of discovery.—*Same.*

LUCIFIC—Producing Light.—*Same.*

LUCIFORM—Having the form of Light.—*Same.*

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